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SUBJECT: AUTHORITATIVE IZVESTIYA COMMENTARY ON US-USSR RELATIONS.

1. SUMMARY. JUNE 17 IZVESTIYA PUBLISHED MOST DETAILED
AND AUTHORITATIVE COMMENTARY TO DATE ON PARLIAMENTARY
DELEGATION VISIT TO US IN MAY. AUTHOR IS L. N.
TOLKUNOV, CHIEF EDITOR OF IZVESTIYA, WHO TRAVELLED
WITH GROUP WEARING LEGISLATIVE HAT AS DEPUTY CHAIRMAN
OF THE SUPREME SOVIET PARLIAMENTARY GROUP. ARTICLE
IS OF SPECIAL INTEREST BECAUSE A NUMBER OF PASSAGES
ARE QUITE CLEARLY AIMED AT "OPPONENTS OF DETENTE"
IN THE USSR AS WELL AS THOSE IN THE US, AND BECAUSE
OF RELATIVELY NUANCED PRIMER IT GIVES ON POLITICAL
PRESSURES WHICH GUIDE DECISION-MAKING IN CONGRESS.

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TOLKUNOV INSERTS MODEST NOTE OF OPTIMISM ON MFN,

THOUGH ADDING THAT EVEN WITHOUT MFN TRADE IS GROWING. HE FIRMLY ADVOCATES A BROADENING OF THE BASE OF DETENTE, CALLING ON PARLIAMENTARIANS ON BOTH SIDES TO MOVE PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD SUPPORT OF IMPROVED RELATIONS. AT SAME TIME HE ASSUMES FRAGILITY OF DETENTE, CAUTIONING AGAINST THOSE WHOSE "UNJUSTIFIED SUSPICIONS" MAY POISON IMPROVING ATMOSPHERE IN BILATERAL RELATIONS.END SUMMARY.

2. IN COMMENTARY HEADED "FRANK DIALOGUE," TOLKUNOV GIVES MANDATORY EMPHASIS TO TENET THAT PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE DOES NOT EXCLUDE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE. MAIN THEME OF HIS ARTICLE, HOWEVER, IS POSED IN HIS RHETORICAL QUESTION; HOW DOES ONE COOPERATE, IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE, WITH ONE'S IDEOLOGICAL OPPONENT? HE ANSWERS THAT THE PROBLEM "IS NOT AN EASY ONE." WHAT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, IS THAT "A CONCERN FOR THE FATE OF PEACE, WHICH IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR, DEMANDS FROM EVERY REASONABLE AND RESPONSIBLE MAN THAT HE NOT DISTURB EFFORTS AIMED AT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE; THAT HE NOT OBSTRUCT CONCRETE STEPS IF SUCH STEPS CAN STRENGTHEN COOPERATION IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE; AND THAT HE NOT POISON WITH UNJUSTIFIED DOUBTS AND SUSPICIONS THE POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE WHICH, WITH SOME DIFFICULTY, HAS REPLACED THAT PREVALENT IN FORMER TIMES. IT IS ALWAYS EASIER TO TEAR DOWN THAN TO BUILD UP... BUT ARE NOT THIRTY YEARS SUFFICIENT TO UNDERSTAND HOW ILLOGICAL IS THE CONTINUATION OF A COLD WAR AND AN ARMS RACE? ...IN THIS TIME OF IMPROVING RELATIONS SPECIAL TASKES STAND BEFORE THOSE WHO, BY VIRTUE OF THEIR CALLING, CAN TURN TO THE MASSES AND INFLUENCE PUBLIC OPINION... POLITICAL LEADERS AND PARLIAMENTARIANS...WHO CAN BUILD A FOUNDATION OF LEGAL AND SOCIAL SUPPORT UNDER THE EDIFICE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS."

3. HE CONTINUES THAT A WEIGHTY RESPONSIBILITY RESTS UPON PARLIAMENTARIANS OF BOTH NATIONS TO DEEPEN DETENTE, TO MOLD PUBLIC OPINION TO SUPPORT ACTIVELY THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF POSITIVE PROCESSES IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE. IN SUMMING UP THE SOVIET DELEGATION'S CONVERSATIONS IN CONGRESS, TOLKUNOV ADDS: "YES, (OUR CONVERSATIONS) WERE FRANK. ONLY IN THIS WAY IS IT POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE OTHER SIDE UNDERSTAND OUR REALITY, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OUR REAL GOALS. OF COURSE, IN THIS PATIENCE AND RESPECT FOR ONE'S PARTNER ARE NECESSARY. THIS (I.E., THESE ATTRIBUTES) WILL ALSO HELP US UNDERSTAND THE US." TOLKUNOV AIMED NONE OF THE ABOVE PASSAGES UNAMBIGUOUSLY AND SOLELY AT THE US; SOME ARE EXPLICITLY INTENDED FOR A SOVIET AUDIENCE; AND ALMOST ALL ARE AT LEAST IMPLICITLY WRITTEN FOR THE ATTENTION OF BOTH SIDES.

4. FOLLOWING A CRITICISM OF CONGRESS'S UNREPRESENTATIVE

NATURE (NO WORKERS AND FEW WOMEN), TOLKUNOV GOES INTO CONSIDERABLE DETAIL IN EMPHASIZING ITS "GREAT ROLE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE" OF THE US AND THE COMPLEXITY OF ITS WORKINGS. THE SOVIET DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE POINT IN ITS CONVERSATIONS IN CONGRESS, TOLKUNOV STATES, WAS THAT DETENTE IS A LONG TERM PROCESS, AND THAT LEARNING EACH OTHER'S MOTIVES AND WAYS OF THINKING IS NECESSARY FOR ITS SUCCESS. TOLKUNOV REPEATS BREZHNEV LINE ABOUT DETENTE NOT BEING A PASSING (KON'YUNKTURNOE) MATTER, AND QUOTES SENATOR PERCY AS ECHOING THIS VIEW WITH STATEMENT THAT OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF CONGRESSMEN SUPPORT POLICY OF DETENTE, AND THAT REGARDLESS OF POLITICAL COMPOSITION OF CONGRESS OR OF "ZIG-ZAGS" WHICH MAY OCCUR, US-USSR RELATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP. SENATORS KENNEDY, HUMPHREY, AND MUSKIE ARE NAMED TO GIVE APPROPRIATE BIPARTISAN FLAVOR TO THIS GENERAL POINT OF VIEW.

5. TOLKUNOV'S COMMENTARY BECOMES A BIT SHARPER WHEN HE DISCUSSES MFN AND "INTERFERENCE IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF THE USSR". EVEN HERE HE IS CAREFUL TO EXPLAIN (ALBEIT BY A SIMPLISTIC REFERENCE TO THE "POWERFUL INFLUENCE OF THE ZIONIST LOBBY") THAT CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION STEMS AT LEAST PARTIALLY FROM DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURES. HE EMPHASIZES STRONG ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT FOR MFN, WITH LONG QUOTATIONS FROM SPEECHES BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY TO BACK UP HIS STATEMENT. HE NOTES THAT THE JACKSON AMENDMENT HAS PASSED THE HOUSE, AND THAT A VOTE IS DUE IN THE SENATE. HE WARNS, IN BLEAKEST PASSAGE IN WHOLE ARTICLE, THAT THE AMENDMENT HAS ALREADY "DUG FAIRLY DEEP COLD WAR TRENCHES" ON CAPITOL HILL. HE NEVERTHELESS SOUNDS A CAUTIOUS NOTE OF OPTIMISM, QUOTING ASSURANCES FROM SENATORS HARTKE AND CANNON THAT THERE IS STILL A POSSIBILITY MFN CAN BE FAVORABLY RESOLVED BECAUSE OF "GROWING GOOD WILL" BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. TOLKUNOV ADDS THAT EVEN WITHOUT MFN, TRADE IS EXPANDING AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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COMMERCIAL OFFICES HAVE BEEN
OPENED IN THE TWO CAPITALS.

6. IN MANDATORY DISCUSSION OF AMERICAN OPPONENTS OF DETENTE, TOLKUNOV OF COURSE CHOOSES SENATOR JACKSON AS MAIN TARGET, WITH GEORGE MEANY COMING IN FOR STRONG CRITICISM AND THE PENTAGON AND THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX RECEIVING GLANCING BLOWS. JACKSON'S OPPOSITION TO DETENTE IS ATTRIBUTED TO HIS ATTEMPT TO DRUM UP SUPPORT TO RUN FOR THE PRESIDENCY, THOUGH TOLKUNOV ALSO NOTES -- IN EXAMPLE OF UNUSUALLY NUANCED APPROACH-- THAT JACKSON'S POLITICAL STATURE ALSO RESTS ON HIS REPUTATION AS AN ENVIRONMENTALIST AS A STAUNCH FOE OF OIL FIRM EXCESS PROFITS. GEORGE MEANY IS GIVEN SHORT SHRIFT, AND THE AUTHOR HURRIES TO MAKE POINT THAT "OF COURSE, FAR FROM ALL" IN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT ARE OF HIS

MIND ON THE MATTER.

7. COMMENT: TOLKUNOV'S ARTICLE BETRAYS A CONSIDERABLE APPRE-
CIATION FOR THE WORKINGS OF THE US POLITICAL SYSTEM. ITS
MAIN SIGNIFICANCE IS IN THE RELATIVELY EXPLICIT
PLEA TO THOSE OF SMALL PATIENCE ON EITHER SIDE TO WAIT
OUT THE "ZIG-ZAGS" WHICH ARE BOUND TO OCCUR ON ROAD TO DETENTE
IN ORDER TO REACH THE LONG-TERM GOAL. STOESSEL

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